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796 668 787 177 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good. [788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

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spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

525 619 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki[x] leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are going to play have found their places. Women come and stand [562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki[x] party begins to speak,

619 "Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game.
525 Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you.
I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with
● 788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki[x] side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki[x] to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki[x] leaders, no Kitkahaxki[x] smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki[x] leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the [782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward.

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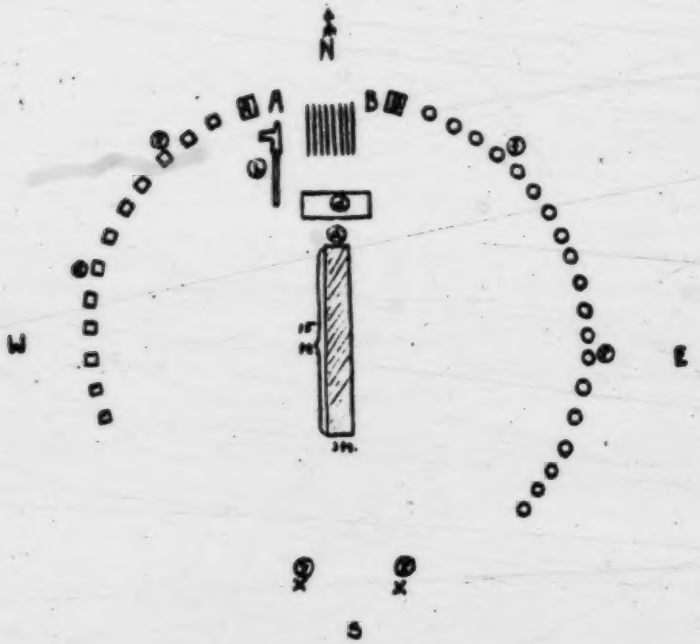

Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxki[x] and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxki[x] leader, [A] - Kitkahaxki[x] assistant
B - Skiri leader [B] - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxki[x] pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
[e] - Kitkahaxki[x] men (guests)
[f] - Skiri men (hosts)
x x - tarutaius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

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525 514 648 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them. They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out [593] of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hɔkahí"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hɔkahí. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west [276] where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David ● [788] and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions [481] [726] with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

[1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

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ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud, wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

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243 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The
793 priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and
787 were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey
symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung
• 788 to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the
[772] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves
793 around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions
787 priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man
[782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its
243

Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him.

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a "hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east). The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as possible so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal and who had assisted with the butchering.

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly

from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their household would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tanning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out "And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, "The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for